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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

REPORTS

COUNTRY REPORTS ON TERRORISM 2010

U.S. Department of State. August 18, 2011.

<http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/crt/2010/index.htm>

This is an annual Congressionally mandated report that provides an assessment of trends and events in international terrorism that transpired from January 1 to December 31, 2010. Besides filling a Congressional requirement, this publication aims to enhance the public's understanding of the international terrorist threat. The report focuses on policy-related assessments, country-by-country breakdowns of foreign government counterterrorism cooperation, and contains chapters on WMD terrorism, State Sponsors of Terrorism, Terrorist Safe Havens, and Foreign Terrorist Organizations. The report also includes a statistical annex prepared by the National Counterterrorism Center. The statistics show more than 11,500 terrorist attacks occurred in 72 countries during 2010, resulting in more than 13,200 deaths. Although the number of attacks rose by almost 5 percent from the previous year, the number of deaths declined for a third consecutive year, dropping 12 percent from 2009.

STRATEGY TO COMBAT TRANSNATIONAL ORGANIZED CRIME

The White House. July 2011 [PDF format, 38 pages]

http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/Strategy_to_Combat_Transnational_Organized_Crime_July_2011.pdf

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/07/25/fact-sheet-strategy-combat-transnational-organized-crime> (Fact Sheet)

"In the U.S. National Security Strategy, the President committed his Administration to the pursuit of four enduring national interests: security, prosperity, respect for universal values, and the shaping of an international order that can meet the challenges of the 21st century. The expanding size, scope, and influence of transnational organized crime (TOC) and its impact on U.S. and international security and governance represent one of the most significant of those challenges. This Strategy is organized around a single, unifying principle: to build, balance, and integrate the tools of American power to combat transnational organized crime and related threats to our national security—and to urge our

partners to do the same... While this Strategy is intended to assist the United States Government in combating transnational crime, it also serves as an invitation for enhanced international cooperation."

EGYPT IN TRANSITION

Sharp, Jeremy M. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. August 23, 2011 [PDF format, 25 pages]

<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/171381.pdf>

"This report provides a brief overview of the transition underway and information on U.S. foreign aid to Egypt. U.S. policy toward Egypt has long been framed as an investment in regional stability, built primarily on long-running military cooperation and sustaining the March 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. Successive U.S. Administrations have viewed Egypt's government as a moderating influence in the Middle East. U.S. policy makers are now grappling with complex questions about the future of U.S.-Egypt relations, and these debates are likely to influence consideration of appropriations and authorization legislation in the 112th Congress. The United States has provided Egypt with an annual average of \$2 billion in economic and military foreign assistance since 1979. For FY2012, the Obama Administration has requested \$1.551 billion in total aid to Egypt." *Jeremy M. Sharp is a Specialist in Middle Eastern Affairs at the CRS.*

POST-QADDAFI INSTABILITY IN LIBYA

Serwer, Daniel. Center for Preventive Action, Council on Foreign Relations. August 2011 [PDF format, 8 pages]

http://i.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/CPA_contingencymemo_12.pdf

"Multiple threats to Libya's stability and public order could emerge if the Qaddafi regime falls. Scenarios range from Qaddafi loyalist forces launching a violent resistance to internecine warfare breaking out among the rebel factions. This instability in Libya could lead to a humanitarian disaster, the emergence of a new authoritarian ruler, or even the country's dissolution. Given these potential consequences, the author recommends in this report that the European Union lead a post-Qaddafi stabilization force in Libya. The force preferably should fall under the United Nations umbrella with modest participation from the African Union and Arab League. The United States should support the stabilization effort with the aim of helping to establish a united and sovereign Libya with inclusive democratic institutions." *Daniel Serwer is a professorial lecturer and senior fellow at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and a scholar at the Middle East Institute.*

AFGHAN PEACE TALKS: A PRIMER

Shinn, James; Dobbins, James. Rand Corporation. August 2011 [PDF format, 128 pages]

http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2011/RAND_MG1131.pdf

"The objective of a negotiated peace has been firmly embraced by both the Afghan and American governments and endorsed by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and most of Afghanistan's neighbors. The potential parties to a treaty accept that the Taliban must be both involved in negotiations and granted some role in the resulting government. Although the priorities of all the potential parties overlap to a considerable degree, their interests and objectives vary greatly. Arriving at an agreement about the sequencing, timing, and prioritization of peace terms is likely to be difficult. The American objective in these negotiations should be a stable and peaceful Afghanistan that neither hosts nor collaborates with international terrorists. Only to the extent that other issues impinge on this objective

should American negotiators be drawn into a discussion of Afghanistan's social or constitutional issues. Because the United States is poorly placed to broker a peace settlement, and because third-party assistance in overseeing the implementation of an accord will be required, the authors recommend that the United States seek the appointment of a United Nations–endorsed facilitator to promote agreement on such issues as a venue for the talks, participation, and the agenda.” *Ambassador James Dobbins is the director of the RAND International Security and Defense Policy Center. James Shinn served as Assistant Secretary for Asia in the Department of Defense (2007-2008). Before that, he was the National Intelligence Officer for East Asia, first at the Central Intelligence Agency and then for the Director of National Intelligence, from 2004-2006.*

THE LONG SHADOW OF 9/11

Jenkins, Brian Michael; Godges, John Paul, Editors. Rand Corporation. August 2011 [PDF format, 223 pages]

http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2011/RAND_MG1107.pdf

“In a series of essays, RAND authors lend a farsighted perspective to the national dialogue on 9/11's legacy. The essays assess the military, political, fiscal, social, cultural, psychological, and even moral implications of U.S. policymaking since 9/11. Part One of the book addresses the lessons learned from America's accomplishments and mistakes in its responses to the 9/11 attacks and the ongoing terrorist threat. Part Two explores reactions to the extreme ideologies of the terrorists and to the fears they have generated. Part Three presents the dilemmas of asymmetrical warfare and suggests ways to resolve them. Part Four cautions against sacrificing a long-term strategy by imposing short-term solutions, particularly with respect to air passenger security and counterterrorism intelligence. Finally, Part Five looks at the effects of the terrorist attacks on the U.S. public health system, at the potential role of compensation policy for losses incurred by terrorism, and at the possible long-term effects of terrorism and counterterrorism on American values, laws, and society.” *Brian Michael Jenkins, senior adviser to the president of the RAND Corporation, initiated RAND's research on terrorism in 1972. John Paul Godges is editor-in-chief of RAND Review, the flagship magazine of the RAND Corporation.*

THE EUROPEAN UNION: FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

Mix, Derek E. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. August 15, 2011 [PDF format, 29 pages]

<http://www.fas.org/sqp/crs/row/R41959.pdf>

“The United States often looks to Europe as its partner of choice in addressing important global challenges. Given the extent of the transatlantic relationship, congressional foreign policy activities and interests frequently involve Europe. The relationship between the United States and the European Union (EU) has become increasingly significant in recent years, and it is likely to grow even more important. In this context, Members of Congress often have an interest in understanding the complexities of EU policy making, assessing the compatibility and effectiveness of U.S. and EU policy approaches, or exploring the long-term implications of changing transatlantic dynamics... Many Members of Congress also remain interested in assessing the ways in which developments in EU foreign and security policy might affect the United States and its interests over the longer term. Possible avenues for exploring such interest include examining the EU's global role in the context of evolving U.S. foreign policy priorities, the relationship between the EU and NATO, and the dynamics of the U.S.-EU-NATO relationship.” *Derek E. Mix is an Analyst in European Affairs at the CRS.*

U.N. SYSTEM DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE: ISSUES FOR CONGRESS

Blanchfield, Luisa. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. July 28, 2011 [PDF

format, 42 pages]

<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/170514.pdf>

"Since the United Nations (U.N.) was established in 1945, Congress has demonstrated a continued interest in U.N. system development assistance. Thirty-two U.N. funds, programs, agencies, departments, and offices play a role in international development. These entities, which are referred to by many as the U.N. Development System (UNDS), conduct development-related activities in 180 countries with expenditures estimated at \$14.7 billion per year. The United States generally supports these activities; it is often among the top donors to UNDS entities and serves on various U.N. executive boards and other governance mechanisms. The United Nations estimates that in 2009, the United States contributed \$1.306 billion to U.N. development-related activities, more than any other country. Congress appropriates funds to several U.N. entities involved in development, and as such has demonstrated an ongoing interest in UNDS efforts. This report discusses the origins and evolving role of the UNDS and its perceived strengths and weaknesses. It examines the current UNDS structure, including country, regional, and global activities, as well as funding levels and trends. It also discusses congressional perspectives, Obama Administration policy, and current UNDS reform efforts. In addition, it analyzes possible challenges and policy issues related to U.N. development assistance efforts, including: Lack of system-wide data collection and sharing mechanisms; Competition among and within U.N. system entities; The impact of different funding flows on UNDS activities." *Luisa Blanchfield is an Specialist in International Relations at the CRS.*

U.S. AND IRANIAN STRATEGIC COMPETITION: COMPETITION INVOLVING CHINA AND RUSSIA

Cordesman, Anthony H. Center for Strategic and International Studies. August 11, 2011
[PDF format, 34 pages]

http://csis.org/files/publication/110811_Iran_Chapter_X.pdf

"This report shows that China and Russia stand at the pivot of US-Iranian competition with China leaning toward Iran, and Russia leaning, more gradually, to the West. As major world powers and permanent members of the UN Security Council, both nations are essential to either inhibiting or shielding Iran's nuclear and regional ambitions. Neither China nor Russia is fully committed to either competitor, and both are engaged in a complex balancing act: leveraging support to advance their own positions while at the same minimizing the diplomatic costs of double-dealing. To secure Chinese and Russian support, the US and Iran stress the value of their relationship and the costs of partnership with the other. China has been able to maintain positive if somewhat strained relations with both the US and Iran by selectively supporting each side. As both a supporter and spoiler, China exploits its dual-role as Iranian benefactor and permanent member of the Security Council, and serves as a de facto gatekeeper to meaningful international sanctions of Iranian nuclear ambitions. China is willing to use US competition with Iran as an opportunity to grow its influence and test the boundaries of the US-led international order. Its moves are calculated to reap the benefits of US-Iranian conflict while deemphasizing the costs associated with supporting both sides... Russia's strategy to maintain coeval relations with the US and Iran has been to portray itself as an intermediary power. By cooperating on a limited basis with the West while advocating for a softer approach to Iran, Russia reaps the benefits of selective cooperation without incurring the costs of full allegiance." *Anthony H. Cordesman holds the Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy at Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and acts as a national security analyst for ABC News.*

ECONOMICS AND EMIGRATION: TRILLION-DOLLAR BILLS ON THE SIDEWALK?

Clemens, Michael. Center for Global Development. August 18, 2011 [PDF format, 32 pages]
http://www.cgdev.org/files/1425376_file_Clemens_Economics_and_Emigration_FINAL.pdf

"Large numbers of people born in poor countries would like to leave those countries, but barriers prevent their emigration. Those barriers, according to economists' best estimates to date, cost the world economy much more than all remaining barriers to the international movement of goods and capital combined. Yet economists spend much more time studying the movement of goods and capital, and when they study migration at all, they focus on the effects of immigration on nonimmigrant's in destination countries. In this paper, Michael Clemens investigates why this is the case and sketches a four-point research agenda on the effects of emigration. Barriers to emigration, he writes, deserve a research priority that is commensurate with their likely colossal economic effects." *Michael Clemens is a senior fellow at the Center for Global Development where he leads the Migration and Development initiative.*

ARTICLES

9/11 IN RETROSPECT: GEORGE W. BUSH'S GRAND STRATEGY, RECONSIDERED

Leffler, Melvyn P. *Foreign Affairs*. September/October, 2011, pp. 33-45.

"Ten years after September 11, people can begin to gain some perspective on the impact of that day's terrorist attacks on US foreign policy. There was, and there remains, a natural tendency to say that the attacks changed everything. But a decade on, such conclusions seem unjustified. September 11 did alter the focus and foreign policy of the George W. Bush administration. After 9/11, there was an accelerated buildup of US military and intelligence capabilities. Defense expenditures skyrocketed; counterinsurgency initiatives proliferated; new bases were constructed throughout Central and Southwest Asia; a new military command in Africa was established. The war on terror became the preoccupation of the Bush administration's national security policy. Before 9/11, the US' primacy and security had been taken for granted; after 9/11, Washington had to make clear that it could protect the US homeland, defend its allies, oversee an open world economy, and propagate its institutions." *Melvyn P. Leffler is Edward Stettinius Professor of History at the University of Virginia and a Faculty Associate at the Miller Center. He is a co-editor, with Jeffrey Legro, of In Uncertain Times: American Foreign Policy After the Berlin Wall and 9/11 (Cornell University Press, 2011).*

FOR AMERICA, AN ARAB WINTER

Miller, Aaron D. *Wilson Quarterly*. Summer 2011, pp. 36-42.

<http://www.wilsonquarterly.com/article.cfm?AID=1967>

"The demands for change in the Arab world in recent months have created more uncertainty for the United States, notes the author. The fall of Arab autocrats creates more risks than opportunities and the Arab upheavals have narrowed the space in which the United States can pursue its policies and interests, according to the author. "The amount and nature of change varies dramatically from country to country. In some cases (Egypt and Tunisia), the uprisings have left many established governmental institutions and political parties in place. In others, efforts to change the status quo have failed and led to state repression (Bahrain and Syria) or civil war (Libya and Yemen). Elsewhere, in Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Kuwait, Jordan, and Lebanon, there's been much less change so far or none at all. The broader point is that America has never been here before. Whatever rhythmic patterns link the current political turmoil to the past are trumped by the reality that the United States finds itself in terra incognita in a part of the world vital to its national

interests, without a unified doctrine to guide it." *Aaron David Miller, a public policy scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center, served for two decades as an adviser to the U.S. secretary of state on Arab-Israeli negotiations. He is the author of The Much Too Promised Land: America's Elusive Search for Arab-Israeli Peace (Bantam, 2008).*

COMMANDING DEMOCRACY IN EGYPT: THE MILITARY'S ATTEMPT TO MANAGE THE FUTURE

Martini, Jeff; Taylor, Julie. *Foreign Affairs*. September/October 2011, pp. 127-138.

"Many of the iconic images from Egypt's revolution depict the Egyptian military supporting the uprising in Tahrir Square. The day after Hosni Mubarak fell, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, the military body now governing the country, vowed to ensure a peaceful transition of authority within a free and democratic system that allows an elected civilian authority to take charge of governing the country. The military's insistence that parliamentary elections take place this fall, less than a year after Mubarak's ouster, is the clearest indication yet that it intends to work with these groups to shape Egypt's future. The military is also working to secure its influence over parliament by maintaining a provision that reserves half the seats in the lower house of parliament for what the electoral law calls "farmers" and "workers." Since the revolution, the generals have sought to maintain control over key instruments of power, especially provincial governorships, to complement their top-down control." *Jeff Martini is a Project Associate at the RAND Corporation. Julie Taylor is a Political Scientist at the RAND Corporation.*

AFGHANISTAN'S ETHNIC PUZZLE: DECENTRALIZING POWER BEFORE THE U.S. WITHDRAWAL

Barfield, Thomas. *Foreign Affairs*. September/October 2011, pp. 54-66.

"In late 2001, when US forces expelled the Taliban from Afghanistan, the country appeared headed for a breakup. The US and the rest of the international community feared that Afghanistan's rival ethnic groups would use their regional power bases to pull apart any unitary state, forming in its place independent ministates or aligning with their ethnic brethren across Afghanistan's borders. As a result, the fears of 2001 have come to life, as regional and ethnicities have taken on an ever-larger role in Afghan politics and society. But it is not too late for Washington to avoid this scenario. First, the US should make a greater effort to persuade Afghan Pres Hamid Karzai to give legal recognition to political parties. Second, the US should encourage the Afghan government to devolve power to provinces and districts so that citizens there can elect their own governors. Lastly, opening up provincial and district governorships to competition would provide the safest form of power sharing with the Taliban." *Thomas Barfield is Professor of Anthropology at Boston University and the author of Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History (Princeton University Press, 2010).*

THE TERRORIST THREAT FROM PAKISTAN

Jones, Seth G. *Survival*. August/September 2011, pp. 69-94.

"With the death of Osama bin Laden and the emergence of the Arab Awakening, it has become de rigueur to argue that the primary terrorist threat to the West now comes from the Arabian Peninsula or North Africa...While terrorist groups in Yemen, Somalia and other locations present a threat to the West, al-Qaeda leaders retain an unparalleled relationship with local networks along the Afghanistan-Pakistan frontier. They have a 30-year, unique history of trust and collaboration with Pashtun militant networks located in the region, where al-Qaeda was born in the late 1980s. These relationships are deeper and more robust than the comparatively nascent, tenuous and fluid relationships that al-Qaeda has

developed with al-Shabaab in Somalia, local tribes in Yemen, or groups in other areas. Indeed, al-Qaeda has become embedded in multiple networks that operate on both sides of the Afghanistan–Pakistan border. Key groups include Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan, the Haqqani network and Lashkar-e-Tayiba... The struggle against al-Qaeda and allied networks operating in Pakistan will be a long one. These groups continue to be involved in overseeing and encouraging terrorist operations, managing a robust propaganda campaign, maintaining a global hub for training, and collecting and distributing financial assistance.” *Seth G. Jones is a Senior Political Scientist at the RAND Corporation and author of In the Graveyard of Empires: America’s War in Afghanistan (W.W. Norton). He most recently served as the US Special Operations Command representative to the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and before that was an adviser and plans officer for the Commanding General, US Special Operations Forces, in Afghanistan.*

TURKEY'S KURDISH CHALLENGE

Larrabee, F. Stephen; Tol, Gonul. *Survival*. August/September, 2011, pp. 143-152.

“Turkey has been wrestling with its Kurdish issue since the foundation of the republic in 1923. The early ‘Turkification’ policy of the Kemalist elite met strong resistance among the Kurdish minority and sparked several outbreaks of unrest, violently suppressed, in the Kurdish areas in the east and southeast. In 1984 the issue took on a new dimension when the newly founded Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK) began conducting terrorist attacks against Turkish territory from safe havens in the Qandil Mountains of northern Iraq. The struggle against the PKK has so far cost 40,000 lives and has hurt both Turkey’s internal development and its relations with its Western allies, especially the United States. In the last several years, discontent and pressures for greater political and cultural rights have visibly increased within the Kurdish community in Turkey. In the aftermath of the 12 June 2011 election, which saw an overwhelming victory for the Justice and Development Party (AKP) headed by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the Kurdish issue is likely to move to the top of the Turkish political agenda as the country seeks to draft a new constitution... Achieving an accord on the Kurdish issue will take time and require patience and compromise on all sides. Now that the 12 June parliamentary elections are over, pressures for change are likely to mount quickly, especially if the rest of the Middle East remains in turmoil. Indeed, the growing unrest and calls for greater democracy elsewhere in the Middle East, especially Syria, could have an impact in Turkey and embolden the Kurds to press their demands more firmly.” *F. Stephen Larrabee holds the Distinguished Chair in European Security at the RAND Corporation. Gonul Tol is Director of the Center for Turkish Studies at the Middle East Institute in Washington DC.*

AMERICA'S RADICAL IDEALISTS STRIKE AGAIN

Cook, Steven A. *The American Interest*. July/August 2011.

<http://www.the-american-interest.com/article.cfm?piece=981>

“The uprisings across the Arab world that began this past December with protests in Tunisia and then Egypt have generated several important debates in Washington and among the foreign policy community more broadly. How should the United States relate to new governments in Tunis and Cairo? Should the United States try to influence transitions to democracy in the Middle East, and if it should, how? What do the revolts mean both for the potential emergence of Islamist political power and for the prospects of extremist organizations? On this last question, the early betting is that, at least in many countries, the uprisings will be good for the former but bad for the latter. Beyond these questions, which are largely the stuff of policy wonks, development professionals and democracy advocates, there is another intense discussion underway about change in the Arab world. It revolves around a more political question: Do President George W. Bush, the invasion of Iraq and the

Bush Administration's "Freedom Agenda" deserve credit for the current political ferment in the Middle East?" Steven A. Cook is the Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations. He is the author of *The Struggle for Egypt*, which Oxford University Press will publish this fall.

ISRAEL'S PESSIMISTIC VIEW OF THE ARAB SPRING

Byman, Daniel. *The Washington Quarterly*. Summer 2011, pp. 123-136.

http://www.twq.com/11summer/docs/11summer_Byman.pdf

"The new regimes and the chaotic regional situation pose security challenges to the Jewish state. These challenges, and the Israeli reactions to them, are likely to worsen the crisis in Gaza and make the prospects for peace between the Israelis and Palestinians even more remote. The new revolutions also have the potential to complicate the U.S.-Israel relationship further and make it harder for the United States to benefit from the Arab Spring. In the end, however, neither the United States nor Israel is behind the winds of change sweeping the Middle East. Egypt will have a new regime, and other Arab countries may too... The United States will be caught between its commitment to Israel and its desire to gain the goodwill of the new Arab leaders and advance democratization in the region. U.S. regional interests go well beyond the security of Israel, of course, embracing issues from counterterrorism to energy security. The peace process is an obvious point of potential contention. One way to make the success of the Arab Spring more likely is to remove one of the greatest radicalizing forces in the region -the Palestinian question-from the agenda." Daniel Byman is a Professor in the Security Studies Program at Georgetown University and the Research Director of the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings. He is also the author of *A High Price: The Triumphs and Failures of Israeli Counterterrorism* (Oxford University Press, 2011) and an editorial board member for TWQ.

REFORM SCHOOL FOR RADICALS

Porges, Marisa L. *The American Interest*. July/August 2011.

<http://www.the-american-interest.com/article.cfm?piece=978>

"One of the latest fads in counterterrorism strategies around the world is deradicalization. Although these attempts to rehabilitate terrorists in custody have been described as either a novel, effective tactic or a sham with grave security ramifications, these programs have become a must-have element for any country serious about national security. In the years since 9/11, as non-kinetic counterterrorism approaches gained importance, officials from Saudi Arabia to Yemen to Singapore to Indonesia have made concerted efforts to rehabilitate terrorist prisoners. Over the past 18 months, formal deradicalization programs have also surfaced in Kuwait, Afghanistan and the United Arab Emirates, with more on the way elsewhere in the Middle East and Southeast Asia." Marisa L. Porges is an associate fellow at the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence. She is a former counterterrorism advisor in the U.S. Departments of Defense and Treasury.

THE SOURCES OF INSTABILITY IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY: WEAK STATES, ARMED GROUPS, AND IRREGULAR CONFLICT

Shultz, Richard; Godson, Roy; Hanlon, Querine; Ravich, Samantha. *Strategic Studies Quarterly*. Summer 2011, pp.73-94.

<http://www.au.af.mil/au/ssq/2011/summer/shultzgodsonhanlonravich.pdf>

"The sources of instability in the twenty-first century's international security environment will largely result from a proliferation in the number of weak and failing states as well as powerful armed groups, some of which are able to affect fundamental security by causing

major geopolitical damage in their own states, in various regions, or to the United States itself. Moreover, this proliferation creates new interactions and interrelationships between and among local, regional, and global players. These developments, in turn, are fostering the emergence of partnerships and coalitions comprised of armed groups, other nonstate actors, and authoritarian revisionist states. These formal and informal groupings employ an array of irregular violent and nonviolent means to extend their power and influence. A persistent and enduring pattern of irregular conflict is observable, and it will continue well into the twenty-first century. Faced with these security challenges, democratic states will likewise need to foster their own coalitions of both state and nonstate allies to oppose them." *Richard Shultz is professor and director, International Security Studies Program at the Fletcher School, Tufts University. Roy Godson is president of the National Strategy Information Center and emeritus professor of government, Georgetown University. Querine Hanlon is dean of academic affairs and associate professor of the College of International Security Affairs, National Defense University. Samantha Ravich is former deputy national security advisor to the vice president of the United States.*

A ROADMAP FOR BEATING LATIN AMERICA'S TRANSNATIONAL CRIMINAL ORGANIZATIONS

Anderson, Martin Edwin. *Joint Force Quarterly*. July 2011.

<http://www.ndu.edu/press/latin-america-transnational-criminal.html>

"Transnational criminal organizations have become too well armed, resourced, and influential to be contained by law enforcement resources in Latin America, where official corruption is widespread, police are not trusted, ungoverned spaces leave a vacuum for crime to penetrate, and vulnerable publics are open to anyone who will provide the services and security the state cannot. The effects of crime and corruption on such a scale, permeating the political, social, and economic realms, must be met with an integrated law enforcement, military, and intelligence effort within a whole-of-government approach. Several countries are having success through a variety of approaches, but the problem remains severe." *Martin Edwin Andersen, a former Assistant Professor of National Security Affairs in the Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, is the Editor of Security and Defense Studies Review. He was a Senior Advisor for Policy Planning in the Criminal Division of the U.S. Department of Justice.*

HEGEMONY WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS

Friedberg, Aaron L. *The National Interest*. June 21, 2011.

<http://nationalinterest.org/print/article/hegemony-chinese-characteristics-5439>

"The United States and the People's Republic of China are locked in a quiet but increasingly intense struggle for power and influence, not only in Asia, but around the world. And in spite of what many earnest and well-intentioned commentators seem to believe, the nascent Sino-American rivalry is not merely the result of misperceptions or mistaken policies; it is driven instead by forces that are deeply rooted in the shifting structure of the international system and in the very different domestic political regimes of the two Pacific powers... For as long as China continues to be governed as it is today, its growing strength will pose a deepening challenge to American interests. If they want to deter aggression, discourage coercion and preserve a plural, open order, Washington and its friends and allies are going to have to work harder, and to cooperate more closely, in order to maintain a favorable balance of regional power. In the long run, the United States can learn to live with a democratic China as the dominant power in East Asia, much as Great Britain came to accept America as the preponderant power in the Western Hemisphere. Until that day, Washington and Beijing are going to remain locked in an increasingly intense struggle for mastery in Asia." *Aaron L. Friedberg is a professor of politics and international affairs at the*

Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University. His most recent book is A Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia (W. W. Norton & Company, August 2011).

U.S. DOMESTIC POLICY AND TRENDS

REPORTS

THE BUDGET AND ECONOMIC OUTLOOK: AN UPDATE

Congressional Budget Office. August 2011 [PDF format, 7 pages]

http://www.cbo.gov/ftpdocs/123xx/doc12316/Update_SummaryforWeb.pdf

"The United States is facing profound budgetary and economic challenges. At 8.5 percent of gross domestic product (GDP), the \$1.3 trillion budget deficit that the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) projects for 2011 will be the third-largest shortfall in the past 65 years (exceeded only by the deficits of the preceding two years). This year's deficit stems in part from the long shadow cast on the U.S. economy by the financial crisis and the recent recession. Although economic output began to expand again two years ago, the pace of the recovery has been slow, and the economy remains in a severe slump. Recent turmoil in financial markets in the United States and overseas threatens to prolong the slump."

EMPOWERING LOCAL PARTNERS TO PREVENT VIOLENT EXTREMISM IN THE UNITED STATES

The White House. August 2011 [PDF format, 12 pages]

http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/empowering_local_partners.pdf

"The strategy that follows outlines how the Federal Government will support and help empower American communities and their local partners in their grassroots efforts to prevent violent extremism. This strategy commits the Federal Government to improving support to communities, including sharing more information about the threat of radicalization; strengthening cooperation with local law enforcement, who work with these communities every day; and helping communities to better understand and protect themselves against violent extremist propaganda, especially online."

ENHANCING IMPACT IN THE PUBLIC SQUARE: BUILDING CAPACITY AND DEVELOPING LEADERSHIP AMONG AMERICAN MUSLIMS AND THEIR ORGANIZATIONS

Loskota, Brie; Roumani, Nadia. The Brookings Institution. August 2011 [PDF format, 26 pages]

http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2011/08_leadership_loskota_roumani/08_leadership_loskota_roumani.pdf

"Faith-based organizations play an important role in social service provision, advocacy, public education, community development and organizing, and other arenas within the American public square. Especially for minority faiths, faith-based organizations (FBOs) create a space for religious communities to meet the social needs of their members and work alongside individuals and organizations from different faith traditions. The arena of faith-based organizations is an important location where religious groups can negotiate their place within America's religiously pluralistic landscape. This paper addresses the development of faith-based organizations and the roles they play in the American public square, and looks at how other religious minorities, specifically the Jewish and Mormon

communities, have navigated this space. The authors then examine the current state of affairs among Muslim faith-based organizations (FBOs) in the United States, and conclude by offering recommendations for how to increase the capacity of Muslim organizations to be more effective public actors. While this paper does not explicitly address the role of Muslim FBOs internationally, it will offer some possible areas of inquiry to broaden this conversation about the public role of religious organizations abroad." *Brie Loskota is the Managing Director of the Center for Religion and Civic Culture (CRCC) at the University of Southern California. She is also Co-Founder and Special Advisor to the American Muslim Civic Leadership Institute. Nadia Roumani is the Co-Founder and Director of the American Muslim Civic Leadership Institute, housed at the University of Southern California.*

THE ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES: LONG- AND SHORT-TERM PERSPECTIVES

Terrazas, Aaron. Migration Policy Institute. July 2011 [PDF format, 21 pages]
<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/EconomicIntegration.pdf>

"The U.S. has provided excellent economic opportunities for generations of immigrants, who are set to play an increasingly significant role in the U.S. economy in coming decades as more baby boomers retire. Because many immigrants are concentrated in low-wage or low-skill jobs, the 2007-09 economic crisis accentuated their vulnerabilities in the labor market, with a risk that the crisis could prove to be a turning point in their future upward socioeconomic mobility. While historically, in the absence of government integration policies, the workplace has played a key role in immigration integration, it remains unclear if this approach will continue to ensure strong economic integration moving forward." *Aaron Terrazas is a Policy Analyst at the Migration Policy Institute.*

IMMIGRATION AND POVERTY IN AMERICA'S SUBURBS

Suro, Roberto. Metropolitan Policy Program, The Brookings Institution. August 2011 [PDF format, 21 pages]
http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2011/0804_immigration_suro_wilson_singer/0804_immigration_suro_wilson_singer.pdf

"As the foreign-born have grown more numerous, they have dispersed geographically. Some metropolitan areas have become immigrant gateways for the first time. And within many metropolitan areas, increasing numbers of immigrants have settled in suburban communities, where they were once only a sparse presence. Meanwhile, another change has been taking place on the metropolitan landscape: poverty is on the rise in the suburbs. This report examines the intersection of these two trends—the suburbanization of poverty and the suburbanization of the foreign born—with an analysis of Census data from 2000 to 2009. The findings illuminate a new geography of nativity and disadvantage that has developed out of booms, bubbles and busts and challenges traditional thinking about the structure of metropolitan areas and their governance. It is no longer useful to think of central cities as the primary locations of poverty in America, surrounded by concentric suburban rings of predominately white and affluent populations. The interplay of demographic change and economic turmoil has produced a dappled map in which foreign born and native born, poor and non-poor, are scattered and intermingled across the entire metropolitan landscape. As a result, suburbs with little or no experience with either immigration or poverty face complex and unfamiliar public policy challenges." *Roberto Suro is a Professor of Journalism and Public Policy at the University of Southern California.*

U.S. IMMIGRATION POLICY SINCE 9/11: UNDERSTANDING THE STALEMATE OVER COMPREHENSIVE IMMIGRATION REFORM

Rosenblum, Marc R. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; Migration Policy Institute. August 2011 [Note: contains copyrighted material] [PDF format, 23 pages]
<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/RMSG-post-9-11policy.pdf>

"The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks derailed what had seemed to be a turning point in U.S. immigration policy: A move away from the assertive enforcement policies that had held sway since the mid-1990s. But just days after the U.S. and Mexican presidents had agreed to a framework that included a temporary worker program, legalization, and new border security measures, 9/11 dramatically reshaped the policy debate. The report reviews the history of immigration legislation since then, including new enforcement mandates enacted immediately after the attacks and the unsuccessful efforts to pass comprehensive immigration reform." *Marc R. Rosenblum is a Specialist in Immigration Policy at the Congressional Research Service and at the time of the writing of this report was a Senior Policy Analyst at the Migration Policy Institute.*

A DOZEN ECONOMIC FACTS ABOUT INNOVATION

Greenstone, Michael; Looney, Adam. The Brookings Institution. August 2011 [PDF format, 26 pages]
http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2011/0805_innovation_greenstone_looney/08_innovation_greenstone_looney.pdf

"Reinvigorating the momentum of innovation that benefits all Americans is imperative to create broad-based economic growth and higher living standards. To take on this challenge, The Hamilton Project at Brookings held a forum on the future of innovation in the United States titled PhDs, Policies, and Patents: Innovation and America's Future, on June 28, 2011. The discussion explored the evolving role of innovation in driving broad-based economic growth in the United States and in creating the policy environment necessary to foster new ideas in science, technology and business. From that conference, the Hamilton Project identified the following facts about innovation: (1) Innovation drives economic growth and raises wages; (2) Innovation improves U.S. life expectancy; (3) Innovation makes technology affordable; (4) New organizational structures lead to rising standards of living; (5) New household technologies allow for more time for family and leisure; (6) The pace of American innovation has slowed during the past four decades; (7) Innovation has failed to increase wages for a substantial number of Americans; (8) Significant barriers to innovation exist in the government and the private sector; (9) Federal support for research & development has declined in recent years; (10) Relatively few U.S. college students study fields critical to innovation; (11) American women are less likely to continue in STEM fields than American men; (12) U.S. policy makes it difficult for international students to stay and work." *Michael Greenstone is director of The Hamilton Project at Brookings. He is also the 3M Professor of Environmental Economics in the Department of Economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Adam Looney is policy director at The Hamilton Project.*

SIZING THE CLEAN ECONOMY: A NATIONAL AND REGIONAL GREEN JOBS ASSESSMENT

Muro, Mark, et. Al. Metropolitan Policy Program, The Brookings Institution. July 2011 [PDF format, 68 pages]
http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/Programs/Metro/clean_economy/0713_clean_economy.pdf

"The clean economy, which employs some 2.7 million workers, encompasses a significant number of jobs in establishments spread across a diverse group of industries. Though

modest in size, the clean economy employs more workers than the fossil fuel industry and bulks larger than bioscience but remains smaller than the IT-producing sectors. The clean economy grew more slowly in aggregate than the national economy between 2003 and 2010, but newer “cleantech” segments produced explosive job gains and the clean economy outperformed the nation during the recession. Overall, today’s clean economy establishments added half a million jobs between 2003 and 2010, expanding at an annual rate of 3.4 percent... Among regions, the South has the largest number of clean economy jobs though the West has the largest share relative to its population. Seven of the 21 states with at least 50,000 clean economy jobs are in the South. Among states, California has the highest number of clean jobs but Alaska and Oregon have the most per worker. Most of the country’s clean economy jobs and recent growth concentrate within the largest metropolitan areas. Some 64 percent of all current clean economy jobs and 75 percent of its newer jobs created from 2003 to 2010 congregate in the nation’s 100 largest metro areas. Metropolitan area clean economies can be categorized into four-types: service-oriented, manufacturing, public sector, and balanced. New York, through mass transit, embodies a service orientation; so does San Francisco through professional services and Las Vegas through architectural services. Many Midwestern and Southern metros like Louisville; Cleveland; Greenville, SC; and Little Rock—but also San Jose in the West—host clean economies that are heavily manufacturing oriented. State capitals are among those with a disproportionate share of clean jobs in the public sector (e.g. Harrisburg, Sacramento, Raleigh, and Springfield). Finally, some metros—such as Atlanta; Salt Lake City; Portland, OR; and Los Angeles— balance multi-dimensional clean economies.” *Mark Muro is a Senior Fellow and Policy Director of the Metropolitan Policy Program at Brookings.*

REDUCING THE BUDGET DEFICIT: TAX POLICY OPTIONS

Sherlock, Molly F. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. August 8, 2011 [PDF format, 37 pages]

<http://www.asaecenter.org/files/FileDownloads/PublicPolicy/CBO%20Reducing%20the%20Budget%20Deficit.pdf>

“Tax reform and deficit reduction are two issues being considered by the 112th Congress. In recent months, a number of groups have published various plans for tackling the nation’s growing deficits. Other groups, such as the Senate “Gang of Six” and a group led by Vice President Biden comprised of Members of Congress, have engaged in deficit reduction negotiations. This report analyzes various revenue options for deficit reduction, highlighting proposals made by the President’s Fiscal Commission and the Debt Reduction Task Force. Others, such as House Budget Committee Chairman Paul Ryan and the Obama Administration, have noted the importance of tax reform as part of deficit reduction plans. Large budget deficits, rising national debt, and the growth of entitlement spending have raised questions regarding fiscal sustainability in the United States. The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) predicts a FY2011 budget deficit of nearly \$1.5 trillion, or 9.8% of gross domestic product (GDP). Over the past three decades, budget deficits have averaged 3% of GDP.” *Molly F. Sherlock is an Analyst in Economics at the CRS.*

STATE EDUCATION AGENCIES AS AGENTS OF CHANGE

Brown, Cynthia G. et al. Center for American Progress; American Enterprise Institute; The Broad Foundation. July 2011 [PDF format, 52 pages]

<http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2011/07/pdf/sea.pdf>

“Today, state education agencies and their leaders face unprecedented demands. What was once a low-profile job of managing federal aid, providing curricular guidance, and ensuring compliance with various legal obligations is now a far more visible and politically fraught task. The new roles required of state education agencies due to the No Child Left Behind Act

of 2001, which required each state to adopt standards, assessments, and accountability programs, and the Obama administration's Race to the Top program, which encouraged and rewarded selected states proposing significant reforms, now push these state agencies more and more into the public spotlight. Heightened attention to issues such as turning around low-performing schools, fixing state data systems, and improving teacher evaluations all require state education officials to play a new and far more demanding role, often under the scrutiny of the media spotlight... Broadly speaking, state education agencies, or SEAs—though they are often referred to as the state's department of education or public instruction—are responsible for administering state and federal education laws, dispersing state and federal resources, and providing guidance to public districts and schools across the state." *Cynthia G. Brown is Vice President for Education Policy at the Center for American Progress.*

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT (FOIA): BACKGROUND AND POLICY OPTIONS FOR THE 112TH CONGRESS

Ginsberg, Wendy. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. July 26, 2011 [PDF format, 27 pages]

<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/secrecy/R41933.pdf>

"The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), enacted in 1966, enables any person to access—without explanation or justification—certain existing, identifiable, unpublished, executive branch agency records. Pursuant to FOIA, the public has presumptive access to requested agency records unless the material falls within any of FOIA's nine categories of exemption from disclosure. Disputes over the accessibility of requested records can be appealed administratively or ultimately settled in court. FOIA is a widely used tool of inquiry and information gathering for various sectors of American society—including the press, businesses, scholars, attorneys, consumers, and activists. The Obama Administration issued a memorandum that requires agencies to reduce their backlog of FOIA requests by 10% per year. Additionally, the Department of Justice launched FOIA.gov, an online database that gives users access to interactive tools to examine agencies' annual reports on FOIA implementation. The 112th Congress has examined FOIA implementation at three hearings—two in the House and one in the Senate. Among the issues discussed at the hearings were concerns about a growing number of statutory exemptions to FOIA, the value of President Barack Obama's decision to make public White House visitor logs, and concerns over whether political appointees were improperly vetting FOIA responses at a federal agency. Companion bills, known as the Faster FOIA of 2011, have been introduced in the 112th Congress. This report discusses FOIA's history, examines its implementation, and provides potential policy approaches for Congress." *Wendy Ginsberg is an Analyst in American National Government at the CRS.*

ARTICLES

CAN THE MIDDLE CLASS BE SAVED?

Peck, Don. *The Atlantic*. September 2011.

<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2011/09/can-the-middle-class-be-saved/8600/>

The article discusses the growing income disparity between the top 1% of the wealthiest citizens and the rest of the population, focusing on how the economic data from the 2008-2009 financial crisis predicts a disappearing middle class in the U.S. Wages and consumer spending figures of most of the population and the rich are compared. The author addresses solutions to the class income disparity, including speeding up the pace of innovation, raising

taxes on the rich, and investing in education. *Don Peck is a features editor at The Atlantic. This essay is adapted from his new book, Pinched: How the Great Recession Has Narrowed Our Futures & What We Can Do About It (Crown, August 2011).*

INFLECTION POINT? FEDERALISM AND THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION

Conlan, Timothy J.; Posner, Paul L. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*. Summer 2011, pp. 421-446.

<http://publius.oxfordjournals.org/content/41/3/421.full.pdf+html>

"Major elements of the Obama administration's health care, education, economic recovery, climate change, and financial reform initiatives have important intergovernmental consequences. This article reviews this broad intergovernmental agenda and analyzes its potential to shape the contours and future direction of American federalism. Utilizing a policy instruments framework, it examines trends in fiscal federalism, federal mandating, preemption, and other policy tools. We conclude that the most significant feature of President Obama's approach to intergovernmental relations thus far may be his hybrid model of federal policy innovation and leadership, which mixes money, mandates, and flexibility in new and distinctive ways. At the same time, political constraints on the scope and sustainability of the Obama administration's intergovernmental policies may limit this strategy's future development. Observers of American federalism are often surprised by the politics that shape the system. The initial promises and actions of the Obama administration created widespread concerns and occasionally loud complaints about policy centralization and standardization resulting from presidential policies to establish national programs to reform health care, climate change, financial markets regulation, and infrastructure. However, the administration, working with a Democratic Congress, actually followed a path that was far more nuanced and cooperative than that suggested by early expectations or contemporary rhetoric." *Timothy J. Conlan is a professor at the Department of Public and International Affairs, George Mason University. Paul L. Posner is professor and director of the Master's in Public Administration program at George Mason University.*

THE GOP'S 2012 FIELD

Decker, Jonathan. *Policy Review*. August 2011.

<http://www.hoover.org/publications/policy-review/article/86986>

"Election 2012 has already begun. In fact, it's in full gear. To no one's surprise, President Barack Obama in early April formed his reelection committee, which will allow his campaign to begin raising money for what is expected to be the most expensive presidential campaign in American history. His reelection, though, is by no means a sure thing — thanks in large part to the state of the U.S. economy. With the U.S. unemployment rate hovering around nine percent, the national average price of gas approaching four dollars per gallon, and the housing market nationwide continuing to fall, Republicans are preparing for a presidential election that they hope will be a referendum on President Obama and his economic policies. A recent USA Today/Gallup poll should not give "Obama for America" (ofa) much comfort: Only 37 percent approve of the president's handling of the economy. With that as a backdrop, eight Republicans have already declared their candidacies for the Republican nomination — sensing a real opportunity to make Barack Obama a one-term president. The White House, of course, has taken notice of the polls and the competition. And it has readily acknowledged that the electoral map that won Obama the Oval Office in 2008 will be strikingly different in 2012. What follows is an evaluation of the Republican field for the nomination, who the White House fears most, and what will likely be the path to the presidency for the 2012 Republican nominee." *Jonathan Decker, a media fellow at the Hoover Institution, is the White House correspondent for Reuters Television.*

RICK PERRY AND THE TEXAS WAY
Roarty, Alex. *National Journal*. August 4, 2011.
<http://www.nationaljournal.com/magazine/the-truth-on-rick-perry-s-texas-record-20110804?page=1>

This story appeared in the August 6, 2011 edition of *National Journal*. On that date Rick Perry was set to announce his presidential bid. "Friends and foes alike are scrambling to assess Perry's record as Texas's chief executive, and there is plenty to review. As the nation's longest-serving governor, he took office as the dot-com bubble was bursting and a year before the 9/11 terrorist attacks. By the end of the decade, he was overseeing the state during the worst economic crisis in a generation. Early reviews for Perry, especially among conservative opinion leaders, have been glowing. Columnist George Will was so impressed by the number of jobs created in the state that he coined a new term: "Texas Exceptionalism." Some national polls of Republicans already show the Texan running second to establishment candidate Romney, the former Massachusetts governor, and he is also popular among tea party activists. Perry's record should, in fact, send chills down the spines of his GOP rivals. The governor can boast not only of unparalleled job creation but of a distinctly conservative record, including several high-profile fights to ward off tax increases. In other words, he can argue that he is both a true believer in conservative principles and that he has gotten results. But his tenure also carries blemishes—among them deep inequality in income and some of the poorest educational results in the country—that call his record into question and could sink his chances in a general election." *Alex Roarty is a politics writer for National Journal.*

HOW GOVERNMENTS DEAL WITH SOCIAL MEDIA

Howard, Alex. *The Atlantic*. August 9, 2011.
<http://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2011/08/how-governments-deal-with-social-media/243288/>

In this article the author surveys the landscape at the crossroads of social media and political power in the summer of 2011. "In Cairo and London and Washington, the way people organize themselves is changing -- and governments are struggling to adapt, adopt, co-opt, or disable the technologies that enable these changes. In the 1990s, the Internet changed communication and commerce forever. A decade later, the Web 2.0 revolution created a new disruption, enabling hundreds of millions of citizens to publish, share, mix, comment and upload media to a more dynamic online environment. That two way communication, enabled by new, highly accessible and scalable Web technologies, is generally called "social media." In the years since the first social networks went online, the disruption had spread to government, creating shifts in power structures as large as those enabled by the introduction of the printing press centuries ago." *Alexander B. Howard is the Government 2.0 Correspondent for O'Reilly Media and a technology writer focused on open government, innovation, and online civics.*

POLITICS AND THE UNIVERSITY: VIEWS FROM THE CAMPUSES

The Chronicle of Higher Education. August 28, 2011.
<http://chronicle.com/article/Politics-the-University-/128805/>

"It's no secret that public colleges are struggling with huge fiscal problems. Nor that they are facing new political pressures as legislatures and governors in Florida, Ohio, Texas, and elsewhere become more interested in issues like faculty productivity, assessment, accountability, and bottom-line budgeting. With the new academic year about to begin, *The Chronicle* asked several key people on campuses what they think will happen as these two trends collide. Are times different than in the past? Are there lessons from history?"

LONG LIVE THE INDUSTRIAL CITY

Vanderbilt, Tom. *Wilson Quarterly*. Spring 2011, pp. 38-45.

<http://www.wilsonquarterly.com/article.cfm?AID=1809>

"Today's successful cities are often regarded strictly as idea labs where creative types gather. But as New York City's garment district illustrates, manufacturing is vital to the innovation that cities foster... The garment industry is still New York City's largest manufacturing sector by employment; that the production, service, and supply businesses that remain play a vital, if underappreciated, role in the larger fashion industry of New York; and that even with the emergence of instant communications and far-flung supply chains—not to mention the pressures exerted by landlords looking to convert industrial space into more profitable offices—there are still compelling reasons why this industrial network continues to cluster in midtown Manhattan... The garment district doesn't merely provide a seedbed for the young designers who drive fashion; the iterative process conducted in proximity helps innovation itself happen. Quick turnarounds give designers test labs of a sort, with the final product often shaped by the manufacturers themselves." *Tom Vanderbilt is a visiting scholar at New York University's Rudin Center for Transportation Policy and Management.*

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Views expressed in the articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect U.S. government policies.